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# Social Progress

Land and Hunger . . . . H. S. RANDOLPH

The Lesson of History . HARRY R. RUDIN

MAY 1949

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# Social Progress

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DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

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# THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC LIFE

THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is devoted in the main to economic and related problems with which the Church is concerned—food, housing, labor standards, social security, consumer co-operatives, and Displaced Persons. Two articles on world order stress the importance of economic security as an essential ingredient of a just and lasting peace.

In dealing with problems of economic life the Church recognizes certain fundamental Christian principles:

1. *God is the Lord of all life.* His laws apply to both men and nations, and his authority extends over all human relationships, including economic institutions and practices. The Church must lead men to a recognition of God's Lordship over the whole of life and to an understanding of its implications for their economic decisions.

2. *The resources of the earth are the gifts of God.* In their use of them men are accountable to him. Every form of ownership and control of the earth's abundance must be managed so as to further the purposes of God's creation.

3. *Human life is supremely valuable.* Through Christ, God calls men to a high destiny. Every economic practice that degrades men, or that makes it hard for them to heed the call of Christ, is wrong and stands under condemnation.

4. *Men are bound together in one bundle of life.* They are members one of another. Every form of economic activity that sets a man against his neighbor and so disrupts the fellowship of the human family is contrary to God's purpose and must be resisted.

5. *Every man is his brother's keeper.* Economic policies and practices must never become self-sufficient. They must be evaluated and judged by the fairness and completeness with which they meet the needs of men in the spirit of our Lord's word: "As ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me."

*—By Clifford Earle.*

# LAND AND HUNGER

*By* H. S. RANDOLPH, *Secretary, Department of Rural Work, Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*

IN THE summer of 1948 I crossed the continent twice and saw endless miles of ripened wheat and other grains ready for the harvester. Everyone knew that our granaries would overflow with millions of bushels of surplus grain. In the late fall of 1948 I spent several days in the corn belt of the nation—cribs were already full, new cribs were being erected, makeshift snow-fence cribs were already overflowing, and there were still many acres of corn in the fields. This represented the largest corn crop ever raised by the farmers of the nation. It is 36 per cent larger than the previous year's.

## Land of Plenty and Hunger

We now have in our cribs and granaries the largest supply ever produced in one year in the United States. The present supply of the four feed grains—corn, oats, barley, and sorghums—represents an increase of 29 per cent. Our farmers have never had so much feed. What this big feed supply means in terms of the 1949 production of bread, meat, eggs, milk is yet to be written; but we know that it will represent an abundance for the nation's needs and a great surplus in addition. With all this abundance of food due to unusually favorable climatic conditions, must people go hungry in our world? The answer is yes. They will, and in no small numbers. Some of them will be men, women, and children of our own nation; but many more will be in other lands where the basic resources for food production are no longer available either in the quantity or quality necessary to prevent human hunger and starvation.

## Productive Soil Fighting Hunger

In the presence of our immediate plenty, human hunger is a major problem in the world. Millions of people are still hungry. The population of the world is increasing more rapidly than food production. During the past century the increase in the food supply of the Western world was achieved mainly by bringing new land into use. First, the common lands of Europe were enclosed for agriculture. Then North America, with its supposedly unlimited rich, level, productive lands, was settled. Shortly after that, Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand opened up for settlement. Thus people were brought to the

food in these new lands and the food was sent to people remaining in the Old World. But the supply was unequally distributed and many people of the world were still hungry. The war added tremendously to this inequality. It became much more general and intense over vast areas of the war-affected world. The extent of war damage to agriculture in Europe and Asia has geen greatly underestimated. It was far more extensive than in World War I. But in time this destruction can be largely overcome with proper agricultural management.

A far greater problem basic to adequate food production is the world's limited supply of productive soil. While the world's population is increasing, the quantity and quality of the land is annually decreasing because of bad husbandry practices. In some countries agriculture has for centuries exhausted the fertility of the soil. The ancient prophet Jeremiah saw this developing condition when in speaking of the Holy Land he uttered these words: "Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot. . . . They have made it a desolation; it mourneth unto me, being desolate; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart."

This prophecy is not only true today of the Holy Land, but it has become a reality in many other lands, including parts of America, the richest domain on the face of the earth. The Mississippi River at flood stage carries a forty-acre farm, seven inches deep, down to the Gulf every minute. The United States has surpassed every other nation in the world in soil exploitation. Fifty million acres of once-fertile cropland have been destroyed and largely abandoned. Another fifty million acres are in the process of abandonment, and a hundred million acres of cropland have lost, through erosion, from 25 to 75 per cent of their top soil. These two hundred million acres, properly used, would feed, clothe, and shelter sixty million people. Millions of acres of range and pasture land have also been depleted through overgrazing and erosion.

Thus we have squandered our soil resources because we have failed to treat the land with the reverence it deserves, and have failed to recognize that "the earth is the Lord's."

Man's whole existence is tied to the soil; what is good for the land is good for man. We live from the land. The soil is the world's most important resource. Industry and labor, professional people as well as farmers, have a large stake in the land of the world. Our complete dependence on soil and water needs to be realized by every person. Sound land-use principles and conservation measures are a moral and religious obligation; if these principles and measures are not applied,

the land will deteriorate and the people will go hungry for want of food.

For three centuries in the United States we have been wasteful with our land because we could escape from the worn-out land by migration to new lands. But we have reached our last agricultural frontier. We must face the necessity of finding out how to establish permanent agriculture on farms now under cultivation before they are damaged beyond reclamation and before the food supply of a rapidly growing population becomes deficient.

**Increasing the Yield Vs. Hunger**

We believe that one major answer to this national and world problem is a soil conservation program involving scientific use and care of the land. This involves the proper management of all land: proper cultivation—terracing, contouring, strip farming; use of organic matter—grass, crop rotations, fertilizer, legumes, shrubs, trees; drainage of the land if the land is too wet, irrigation if it is too dry, and dams to retain and distribute water resources properly.

In the United States we now have an active nation-wide soil conservation program. Since 1935 rapid and unexpected progress has been achieved; now more than three fourths of all the farms of the nation are included in farm-managed soil conservation districts, and vitally needed soil conservation practices are applied on millions of acres. It is hoped that within the next twenty-five years practically every farm and ranch of the nation can be operated in accordance with a scientifically developed conservation plan, resulting in a permanent agriculture based on permanently safeguarded land, yielding increased production and income. Such a program will yield more food for the nation and the world.

Exhausted and depleted soil under the feet of growing populations in all nations is an issue that cannot be neglected if human hunger is to be eradicated from the world. Our agricultural lands must be made to give increasing yields, not only in the new world but also in the densely populated parts of the Old World, and especially the Far East. This problem cannot be successfully dealt with by the technical resources of many of the hungry countries where erosion is most serious. The loss of soil concerns the whole of mankind, and it is in the interest of those countries with more experience and resources to put their facilities at the disposal of the more handicapped countries. The world possesses sufficient technical knowledge and skill to reverse the trend of soil depletion and to increase substantially the production of food on land now in use. The problem at this point is to organize

and apply that knowledge and skill where needed in the world.

### New Lands Against Hunger

A second answer to human hunger is to be found in new land which may be brought into agricultural use. We are today cultivating about 8 per cent of the earth's surface. We have in the United States many acres of good land, unused either because it is too dry or too wet, which might be reclaimed through a more aggressive national program of irrigation and drainage.

Perhaps another 3 or 4 per cent of the uncultivated areas of Africa and Latin America could be put under productive cultivation. If this could be done, it would practically double the crop area of those continents.

### We Believe:

First, the world has been endowed with expanding possibilities for food production sufficient to feed man as he multiplies himself and to wipe out hunger from the world. Therefore the Church should urge, through its pronouncements, teachings, and preaching, the fullest possible development and equitable distribution of God's gifts of land resources, through scientific research and the application of social justice.

Second, all peoples of the world, regardless of national location, are interdependent. We all face the same sort of grave problem with respect to land and food. The natural resources of the world have been devastated through ruthless exploitation, ignoring the natural laws which maintain them, and our populations are steadily increasing, making higher demands upon our declining resources. Therefore, the United Nations or some other agency with a world concern should set up a world conservation, land-development, and land-use policy and program. Agricultural science, social advancement, and Christian brotherhood must be the basic guides in forming such world policy and program.

Third, international commodity agreements and related processes should be established so that all food production above domestic needs can be moved quickly to food-deficient areas throughout the world.

President Truman has called on our nation to recognize its stewardship responsibilities by his now-famous plan to develop the underprivileged areas of the world and to share our knowledge and resources in this development.

Fourth, an enduring world peace can never be achieved among hungry people. When millions must exist below a tolerable level of subsistence, and when nowhere in our world has a desirable standard of living been achieved for all, it must be concluded that we have fertile

soil not for growing food, but for breeding hatred, disorder, and social and political chaos resulting in strife and war. Therefore, if we are to have peace, we must find the best way to utilize our natural resources. The earth has potential resources to feed all its people adequately if proper stewardship is maintained.

Fifth, the Church through its many institutions must seek out and present the truth about our natural resources and how they can be used more effectively to feed a hungry world. It should seek to preserve and develop the family-type farm as a policy. It must aim to protect the family-type farm and to make it productive of the greatest possible spiritual and material good for the family, community, and the world.

Sixth, the Church has an eternal concern for souls and soils. The Church has traditionally been interested in productive, creative lives, but these cannot be established on eroded, gullied, barren, and unproductive land. The Church must therefore be a conserver of land and homes if it would build a community of self-respecting, hopeful, and mutual-aiding people.

Where there is soil deterioration there is also a corresponding deterioration of social institutions, including the Church. On the other hand, well-conserved soil is the foundation for confidence, ambition, hope, self-respect, and personal growth; and without these characteristics in its people, the Church is dead and constitutes no vital force in human life.

Therefore, as a basis for self-survival, the Church must give leadership, education, guidance, inspiration, and support to the promotion and expansion of a world conservation program.

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### The Farmer Is the Man Who Feeds Us All!

The Agricultural Census of 1945 shows that 1.7% of the farms with 3.7% of the farm population and 25.8% of farm acreage, produced 21.9% of the gross value of all farm production, with an annual income per farm of over $20,000.

The 7% of farms with incomes of $8,000 to $19,999, having 8.5% of the farm population and 18.3% of acreage, had 23.5% of gross value of farm production.

This means 8.7% of the roughly 5,500,000 farms got 45.4%—close to half—of the gross value of farm products.

The 42.9% of farms with 13.7% of farm acreage and 28.5% of the farm population, which had an income of less than $1,200, produced only 7.5% of the gross value of farm products.

Albert S. Goss, master of the National Grange, comments:

"The problem of price stabilization concerns chiefly about half of our farmers who produce over 90% of the nation's food products."

—*People's Lobby, Inc., 810 F Street, N. W., Washington 4, D. C.*

# FOR BROADER AND DEEPER SOCIAL SECURITY

*By* J. K. LASSER, *Chairman, Institute on Federal Taxation, New York University. Reprinted from* The New York Times Magazine *with permission.*

CONGRESS has been urged repeatedly to broaden and change the Federal Social Security program. During the Presidential campaign leaders of both political parties added their voices to this plea. There can be no doubting the need.

A good many aging people in this country face the dismaying fact that the Social Security system cannot keep the wolf from their doors. Social Security has long been criticized for its incomplete coverage of workers. It is now subject to the additional criticism that in these times of high prices the benefits provided for those it does cover are far from sufficient. All this focuses attention on just what the system which, on its establishment fourteen years ago, was hailed as a great social advance is actually doing for Americans over the retirement age of sixty-five.

There are in the United States about 11,000,000 persons sixty-five or over. Only about one fourth of them support themselves by their own work. Another 20 per cent live on incomes from pensions, annuities, and investments. The rest must rely wholly or partially on relatives, friends, or public or private charity for support. Thus—although 70,000,000 people are now preparing for their declining years under FSS and approximately 2,000,000 retired workers and their dependents are getting aid from the program at the average rate of $42,000,000 a month—the startling fact is that a good half of those beyond the retirement age are dependent, at least to some extent, on others.

As the years pass the number of aged dependents will increase, because the population will contain a greater proportion of older people. This is due to the advance of medical science and the resultant prolongation of life expectancy. Statisticians say that in another twenty years there will be twice as many people over sixty-five in this country as there are today.

As a nation we have accepted the thesis that protection of the aged against economic insecurity is a function of democratic society and an essential obligation of Government. Under the American way of

life maximum production, good employee morale, work efficiency, and economic progress are all parts of a pattern that includes the goal of social security for those too old to provide for themselves longer. That being so, we face a test that has been underlined by the condemnation of our kind of democracy by forces abroad. We must prove that a democracy can protect its citizens from the economic and social uncertainties of modern civilization.

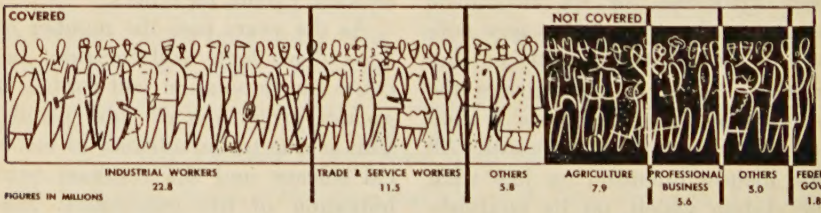
What, then, is wrong with the present law? How should it be changed?

A major fault is that the Social Security system does not cover enough of the working force. More than 20,000,000 persons work today at jobs that do not qualify them for old-age benefits. These include all self-employed persons—business and professional people, farmers and others who work on their own account—many of whom would like to come under the system. Also excluded are farm employees, household workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, and those in the Federal Government. Most of these need protection as much if not more than the types of workers now covered, for their earnings are comparatively low and often irregular.

The original reason for the exclusion of these categories lay in administrative problems, which we now know can be solved. The self-employed can easily make contributions out of their income, perhaps through payments made on income tax returns. As for the others, various simple procedures for the collection of contributions with little inconvenience to employers have been offered. The act should be broadened to include all these classes of workers.

Another fault is that the system contains unduly restrictive eligibility requirements for older workers. The result is that only about 20 per cent of those who are sixty-five or over can receive benefits. Even excluding those who support themselves or live on income (about 45 per cent of the total) many more are now unable to get them.

The trouble lies in the fact that the program has not been in effect long enough to provide sufficient aid to older people. It now offers



basic retirement protection to the majority of the younger workers, because with thirty-five or forty years of productive life ahead of them they have opportunity to build up credits toward meeting the present eligibility requirements. But many of the older people cannot, simply because of the time factor. They are victims of an inequitable situation that should be corrected.

The greatest need of all at present is to increase the amount of benefits. The last alteration of the system in this respect was made in 1939. Even then, the new scale of benefits replaced only a small part of the income that a worker or his survivors had lost because of retirement or death. Since then earnings and the cost of living have risen sharply—living costs by about 75 per cent, wages even more.

Neither can be expected to return to prewar levels. Yet average payments for retired workers under Social Security today are still based on prewar computations.

The result is that people whose main income is from present Social Security benefits are in desperate straits. Many of the 2,000,000 beneficiaries are widows or workers who, able to subsist on such payments in 1939, can now obtain for themselves and their dependents only pathetically bare necessities, if that. The average benefit for a retired man and wife is about $40 a month. The average family benefit for a widow and two children is $48. This is far too low if the system is to be of any real aid in preventing dependency.

The benefits should be doubled to adjust to the economic changes that have taken place in the last nine years. This can be financed at least in part by increasing the level of wages taxed in a ratio more comparable to the general rise in wages since 1939. At present employees and employers each contribute 1 per cent on only the first $3,000 of annual employee earnings. When the system was set up only 5 per cent of the workers had annual earnings in excess of $3,000. Today one third of them earn more than $3,000. The ceiling should be raised to $4,000 or $5,000. An increase on the tax on each employee and employer of from $30 to $50 should meet with little objection.

Changes in technical rules governing Social Security are equally imperative. Some of them nullify the system's basic aims. Consider these rules concerning benefits.

Under them a widow who earns as little as $15 a month on a covered job cannot collect benefits built up by her husband—even if the law owes her three times that amount. A worker's retirement benefits and those of his wife and children are completely suspended for any month the worker earns more than $15 a month in covered employment—even if the law gives him $85 a

month. Only a child's benefit continues if the mother earns more than $15 a month (or a widow's benefit continues if her child earns the $15). The rule insists that a beneficiary go on and off the benefit rolls from time to time as his work, health, and other circumstances affect him. His only solution (if he needs more money) is to work on a job not covered by the program or to run a business of his own. Then he may continue to receive Social Security no matter how much he may earn.

This, on the face of it, is unjust. Why should a person who is entitled to $50 be denied all of it if he earns $15? Why should not the limit be $50 or $100? Why any limit?

Another needed change is to lower the retirement age for women from sixty-five to sixty. Too many older women are widows or mothers of deceased insured workers who need their survivors' benefits earlier than they can now get them. Lowering the eligibility age is also important for women insured in their own right.

But even with reforms we must recognize that the Social Security system can never do the full job needed for old-age economic protection. Other measures are needed.

Realistically, the task of Government in regard to Social Security is twofold. It must keep the cost of the insurance within the limits set by the funds raised by Social Security taxes, and it must encourage workers to obtain the additional funds needed for their support in retirement. Various suggestions have been made as to how the second task can be accomplished.

Some urge the adoption of incentives for people who want to work past sixty-five. One wholesome proposal is to increase the monthly Social Security benefits for each month of deferment past the retirement age. It is argued that this will reduce the cost of Social Security for the Government and should be popular with those who are able to work and want to add to their savings.

More important is a basic adjustment of our income tax to encourage additional savings for old age. Several proposals are to come before the Congress. One would give a tax deduction for earned income invested in a limited amount of noninterest-bearing Government bonds. The income tax would be paid on retirement of the bonds after the holders reach sixty-five. Another suggestion involves tax deduction for investment in annuities, life insurance, or comparable holdings. New York State has done something along this line by tax allowances up to $150 for life insurance, but more is needed.

Studies have been made that indicate the necessity for Government sale of annuities. This is being done

by some states, where the Government subsidizes the cost of the program at the expense of the taxpayers generally. Experience, however, does not suggest that this process has attained the hoped-for results, because too frequently the annuities are bought only by the wealthy as good investments.

The war years and the accompanying high business taxes have spurred another very important retirement savings device which holds the promise of supplementing the Federal Social Security program. This is the employer group insurance and pension system. Considerable Government encouragement has been furnished through tax deductions to the employer and through the postponement of the employee's income tax until he gets his pension. The idea is taking hold in many parts of the country, but much more can be done in Government aid toward establishing these plans—particularly in the smaller businesses.

Farsighted unions are sponsoring these employee pension plans. Sometimes they are accepted in lieu of wage increases. Sometimes the union itself secures the funds and operates the pension system. In general, however, the plans are surrounded at present by unreasonable technicalities. Liberalization of the methods of setting them up should greatly stimulate their growth.

Protection for old age is a matter of intelligent planning throughout life. Given a Social Security law, the balance of the funds for economic protection in old age must inevitably be collected by the worker or by his employer for him before the age of retirement. That suggests the co-ordination by the worker of all fund-raising sources that may be available to him—his savings, his insurance, his employer's pension system, plus Government aid. The general lack of such co-ordination is one of the great troubles at present.

Here, it seems, is another area of Governmental responsibility. The Government is better fitted than any other agency to teach the people the value of saving for their old age. More funds should be put into advertising and promotion to demonstrate to the public how Government bonds can supplement Social Security. Few employer or insurance plans to build up retirement funds (not insurance protection) can compare in results with continued individual investment in E bonds. Yet this idea is not being put across properly.

Perhaps what we need is a couple of good advertising men running the Social Security system. The type of genius that has given us mass production and distribution through advertising might be able to convince Mr. and Mrs. Average American that they ought to set aside their own nest egg.

# CONTINUED THREAT TO FAMILY LIFE

*By* DOROTHY SCHOELL MONTGOMERY, *Managing Director, Philadelphia Housing Association.*

Is the housing shortage easing? Are there valid signs of reduced demand? Is it true that new houses are standing idle? Is it possible that within a few months the "housing problem" can be forgotten —labeled solved? The answers to these questions depend very much on what is meant by the terms "housing shortage" and "housing problem." It's true that if your income is $5,000, which means that you can afford to pay $10,000 for a home, there is some choice; or if your family is small and two bedrooms will do, you can find an apartment, provided you are prepared to pay $100 a month plus gas and electricity.

It is probably fair to say that some aspects of the shortage are over for the comparatively small group with incomes above $5,000. For the families with under $5,000 income (more than two thirds), there has been virtually no improvement in the situation. For the low- and middle-income family, for the thousands of families now living in slums, for the new families being created each year, the situation is virtually as acute as it was four years ago.

The Family Service Association of America has recently said that "as much as at any time since the war families are being herded into abnormal living conditions, crowded into hotels, furnished rooms, trailers, temporary housing projects, and summer cottages. Hundreds of thousands of other families have been forced to retreat into already overcrowded city neighborhoods, with poor sanitary conditions and little or no play space, in one- or two-bedroom apartments where beds must be jammed wall to wall, where eviction is an ever-present threat, and where even controlled rents are far in excess of income limitations."

Agencies such as the Philadelphia Housing Association see many evidences of the fact that housing continues to be a problem. New dwelling construction is far short of the need as to quantity, quality, or proper location. Many of the areas now being developed are headed for early blight because the mistakes of the past are being repeated in monotonous rows of houses with too little open space. Costs are too high for the average family, so that there is a growing danger of overbuilding in the wrong price ranges. Large-scale development, one of the methods of effect-

ing savings in cost, has so far been little used. The flight to the suburbs continues, with its disrupting effect on transportation, school facilities, and municipal taxation. Violations of the minimum sanitary laws go virtually unchecked by local enforcement agencies. The low-rent housing program, the only hope of decent living for thousands of slum dwellers, has been taken over in some cities and states, but many communities are still awaiting Congressional action. Redevelopment and slum clearance are gaining legal sanction, but little progress can be made on actual programs until new housing at the right prices guarantees homes for dispossessed families. Outdated building codes and zoning laws are handicapping builders in their efforts to use new methods and materials. Eviction proceedings continue to uproot tenants. Rent control is being weakened by each successive extension of the original law.

Can any problem that is obviously so complicated and ramified ever be solved? Fortunately, the answer is, "Yes," because there is now wide understanding that good housing makes a basic contribution to human decency and welfare and that it is essential to an economy of maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

First of all, there must be enough houses—houses for all people, regardless of income, age, or race. Secondly, we must take better care of our existing housing supply by conserving it and by modernizing the neighborhoods in which the houses are located. And, finally, we must take steps right now to be sure that every house is located in a good neighborhood.

The best available estimates of the over-all national need are put at about 1,300,000 per year for the next twelve years. This figure is far above the number now being produced (930,000 in 1948). Unless there is a forthright national policy aimed at this figure there will not be enough houses to take care of the expected increase in the number of families, the establishment of a reasonable vacancy rate, the replacement of housing now substandard and housing that will become substandard in the next twelve years, to replace houses destroyed through fire and disaster, and to remove temporary housing put up during the war. In addition, sheer quantity alone is not enough; it is important that these houses fit the requirements of families in the various income groups; that they be available to all regardless of income, age, or race.

Private enterprise building must provide the bulk of the needed new houses, and it should be aided by building-code reforms, technical research aimed at new production methods, and further financing aids from the Government. But private

enterprise should not be expected to produce for the low-income groups which cannot afford the economic cost of decent shelter. Fortunately, the public-housing authorities have shown their ability to solve this aspect of the problem when funds are available for public low-rent housing. When and if the bipartisan General Housing Act of 1949 is enacted by the Federal Congress, additional funds will be available to the local housing authorities on a consistent and sizable basis. In addition, there is a growing movement throughout the country whereby cities and states are supplementing Federal aid. These programs are being adopted because it is recognized that Federal aid alone will be insufficient to end slum living in the foreseeable future.

However rapidly and successfully the supply of new houses may be increased, the bulk of the population will neither get nor need a brand-new dwelling. Adequate maintenance of existing houses and existing neighborhoods to assure their best use is essential to the welfare of the city and its people. Present laws are neither adequate nor are they well enforced. Whole sections of our cities are slowly and surely deteriorating because of bad neighborhood conditions rather than because of deficiencies in the structures. Certain relatively simple planning techniques can be introduced to provide open space, to eliminate traffic hazards, noise, and other nuisances. In many residential neighborhoods, appreciable improvement can be secured through firm administration of zoning laws.

Urban redevelopment, with its dramatic possibilities for restoration of good structures and reconstruction of entire neighborhoods, is definitely on the way in the United States. Again, most cities are looking to the pending General Housing Act of 1949 for much-needed funds for land acquisition.

The last point in the housing program is perhaps the most important, for it relates to the planning of the new houses that are today being constructed in large quantities in the outlying sections of most cities. Much of the new housing now being erected is headed for early blight because of antiquated land-use methods. This is true whether the houses are single cottages with their own little plot of ground or the row type so common in our larger cities. In neither case is there adequate provision for pleasant neighborhood life. Too often the new neighborhoods are monotonous groups of identical houses designed for a single family size and a single income group. Adequate recreational and shopping facilities are too often omitted. Transportation is poor.

Much advance planning and, in some cases, new laws are needed to assure the development of decent houses in good neighborhoods. Un-

less these positive steps are taken now, we must resign ourselves to an early blight and leave future generations to cope with even more difficult problems than the ones that confront us now. The technical skill and knowledge needed to produce well-planned, well-built neighborhoods for family living exist. Unfortunately lacking is the local machinery needed to carry it out, as well as the local determination.

The three-point program of enough houses, the conservation of existing houses, and the creation of good neighborhoods, will not come about through the efforts of a few specialists and technicians. Wide public understanding of alternatives and goals is needed. Each of us has a large responsibility for the development within our own community. We should make it our business to examine and study the new houses that are being built. Do they have the open space which growing children need? Do they make for convenient housekeeping and pleasant family life? Are they sufficiently well built to last at least through the amortization period? What are the selling prices? Do they fit the needs of the community? If they do not, is there a local housing authority? Does it now have a full-prepared program to build low-rent houses when funds are available? Is your church co-operating?

Do many citizens know about the bad housing in the community? Do the newspapers editorialize or publish feature articles from time to time on living conditions? Are your Congressmen interested in the passing of housing legislation that can be of help to your community? Is there a citizens' agency working to keep the public informed about housing conditions and proposals to improve housing?

There are at least two national organizations, the National Association of Housing Officials in Chicago, and the National Public Housing Conference in Washington, which are prepared to assist individuals and organizations throughout the country in learning more about the housing problem. They can provide literature, films, and speakers, or can tell you where to obtain them.

Much research and educational work needs to be done in every community if America's potential living standards are to be made available to everyone. Church groups have exercised leadership in this direction, but much still needs to be done if the houses and cities of the future are to be positively good.

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***Don't miss the General Assembly issue of* SOCIAL PROGRESS, *featuring articles and legislative notes on the domestic and international scene, and the Division's Program of Alcohol Education. Share your copy with a friend. Subscription, $1.00 per year.***

# CO-OPERATIVES—NOT CARTELS

*By* JERRY VOORHIS, *Executive Secretary of the Co-operative League of U.S.A.*

WE LIVE in one of the great testing times of human history. No man or woman can foresee the future with any certainty. Half the human race is hungry; half of it has lost—or never had!—its freedom; all of us are fearful. We fear the dire consequences of an economic depression, the further concentration of power in a few hands. We fear the possibility of a third world war.

But most serious of all is the danger of a loss of hope and faith. If man possesses these two, he can endure all else.

There never has been a time when mankind did not possess resources of mind and soul sufficient to overcome his problems. Our times are no exception. God has never left man without means of his own salvation.

It is only a question whether we will use to the full the best resources we have, whether we will reach deep enough for basic simple principles and motivations.

The problems of today can every one of them be conquered if we resolutely apply to them the principle of mutual aid, or the Second Commandment. Most of our troubles arise because we apply those principles to only part of our relationships, but fail to do so in some of the most vital relationships of life.

"All very well," someone says, "for ministers, priests, missionaries, and the like. But how about the average run of people? They must make their livings in the economic world as they find it. They must provide for their families. That too is a Christian duty."

All of that is very true.

Therefore, the task of Christians is to find and set before people methods and means whereby the everyday economic lives of people can be so fitted together that the very process of making a living and solving economic problems will develop in them Christian characteristics and generate social relationships that are akin to those of the brotherhood of man.

A method of doing exactly that is available to all groups of people everywhere in the world today. It is the method of co-operation.

The great pronouncement of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam pointed out that neither Communism nor monopolistic capitalism could possibly produce the kind of social order which the

Church must seek. Communism destroys freedom, controls by violence, and stifles the expression of the human spirit; monopoly capitalism produces indefensible inequalities, creates intolerable insecurity, and puts its premium on the successful pursuit of selfish interest.

But wherever and in whatever field a co-operative is formed, the success of that venture depends, not upon the advancement of the interest of a particular group at the expense of others, but rather upon the successful serving of the needs of people. The only reason for the existence of a credit union, or a co-operative to supply fertilizer to feed the farmer's soil, or a co-operative to build houses, or to bring the advantages of health care to families who cannot otherwise afford it, or a co-operative store, or a co-operative insurance company, or a co-operative electric power system, is to meet the needs of people. And, furthermore, the co-operative belongs to the same people whose needs it is to serve.

The more people included in the co-operative's membership, the better and stronger organization. The greater the abundance of the goods or services furnished by the co-operative, the better also, since its purpose is never to exact from others but rather to furnish to its members as much of what they need at as low a cost as possible. The open membership principle of co-operatives is no accident. It is inherent in this form of business organization, because the larger the membership, the better. How different this is from the inevitable point of view of the monopoly or the special group which cannot help hoping its particular product will be scarce in supply, since such a condition will increase returns from others! The co-operative can have no other effect than to benefit indirectly the whole of society—not its members only, but all people.

The essential elements in a successful co-operative are members, money, management, and morale. The co-operative begins with a group of people who have a common need which is not adequately met and who propose to go into business together to meet that need for themselves and their neighbors.

The first step is the sale of memberships and shares. The memberships generally cost from $1 to $5, and part of this money at least is used for organization expenses. It is most important that members of a co-op adequately capitalize their own business by buying shares. Shares generally sell from between $10 and $25 each. The co-op should raise enough capital from the sale of shares to cover its original inventory, the cost of its building—whether owned or rented—for a period of at least a year, the cost of any fixtures, and also an investment in the wholesale co-operative

of sufficient size to enable that wholesale to carry an inventory of goods to supply the needs of the new co-operative.

Co-operatives require, for real success, as good management as any other business, particularly the businesses with which they are competing. Once the co-operative is started, its progress depends upon the morale of its membership and loyalty with which that membership supports, patronizes, participates in, and actively promotes the co-operative.

Each member of a co-operative is entitled to one vote in all business and other matters. The annual meeting elects the board of directors, and the board of directors selects the manager. The return on invested capital is limited, because the purpose of a co-operative is to make savings for its members on their patronage rather than to pay a high return on capital.

All the margins of savings between the cost of doing business and total receipts are the property of the patrons and members of the co-operative and are either paid or allocated to them at the end of each accounting period.

The impact of such businesses is to establish a yardstick of full production, full employment, full service to their patrons who are also their owners. Co-operatives open the way for all other firms to do more business if only they will do it on the principle of abundant production at reasonable cost.

Co-operatives need bear no ill will toward their competitors. Indeed, they will welcome the competition of other forms of business. For they know they need that competition to keep them on their toes and, at times perhaps, to teach them efficiency.

It is not surprising that there has been opposition to co-operatives in recent years. The same thing has happened to every movement in history that has sought to open to the people generally opportunities for ownership and responsible activities formerly reserved for a few. But the charge that co-operatives are tax exempt is simply false. The truth is that with one inconsequential exception co-operatives pay all taxes that any business pays, under the same laws and at the same rates. As for the agricultural exemption, for which a dwindling number of farmer co-operatives attempt to qualify, the National Tax Equality Association, spearhead of the drive against co-operatives, has itself stated that this exemption (from Federal corporation income taxes only) is of no consequence "and that its repeal would add only a drop of revenue to the treasury."

Along with all other taxes, co-operatives pay income taxes on any earnings which the co-operative makes and which belong to the co-operative. Co-operatives do not pay

taxes on patronage refunds, which they are bound to pay to their customers. Neither are any other businesses taxed on refunds to customers. The only difference between the tax status of co-operatives and the tax status of other business arises therefore, not from an "unfair advantage," or difference in the law, but purely from the different way in which co-operatives treat their customers. In a co-operative the patrons are partners in the business. They are owners of the business. And all margins between costs of doing business and total receipts legally belong to the patron-partners. Therefore they, not the co-operative, pay the tax on any taxable income that is derived from those margins.

The co-operative depends upon Christian attitudes of its member owners for its very survival. Unless those member owners welcome others into membership, unless they work together in harmony with one another, unless they put the welfare of the group ahead of the welfare of themselves as individuals, their co-operative will not succeed.

The Co-operative League of the United States has proposed to our Government that the problem of what to do about the industries of the Ruhr Valley be solved in a manner that would truly promote peace. The League has proposed that an international trusteeship be formed in which all the groups of all western Europe that need the products of the Ruhr would be represented, and to which control of the Ruhr would be entrusted. Instead of operating Ruhr industries to develop a new cartel or to revive an old one, co-operators believe they should be made a bond of peace ministering to the needs of impoverished nations, with their earnings distributed in proportion to patronage as co-operatives do.

The International Co-operative Alliance proposed over a year ago that the oil of the Middle East be administered by a United Nations Commission with the sole purpose in mind of getting the oil to where it was needed by consumers! A simple idea, and one that was rejected by the big powers, but one on which peace could be built. Co-operatives are voluntary organizations of free people! They could, grown large enough, bring enduring peace to a stricken world.

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CO-OPERATORS seek to advance the welfare of their communities, state, and nation by active participation as good citizens and to defend their right to engage in business for their own and others' benefit. Co-operatives, however, at all times refrain from partisan political activity. The lifeblood of co-operatives is healthy growth. And healthy growth depends largely upon a membership kept fully informed of the problems, objectives, operations, and long-run significance of their co-operatives.

# DISPLACED OR MISPLACED?

*By* MABEL B. ELLIS, *former secretary, Committee on Refugees, National Board, Y. W. C. A.*

RECENTLY the secretary of a State Committee on Displaced Persons said, "You know, half the time when somebody tries to get me on the telephone, he asks for the "Committee on Misplaced Persons." Actually that word describes very well the plight of the people who still remain in the camps maintained overseas by the International Refugee Organization. They are not only out of their own place—displaced—but they are also in the wrong place —misplaced.

For every study that has yet been made of these people has showed that almost without exception they are decent, self-respecting folk who ask only the opportunity to support themselves and their families in any country where freedom of thought is still possible and who are for the most part well-equipped, by training, professional education, or practical experience, to achieve self-support again if once the chance is given them. Such people do not belong in a barracks, no matter how humanely they are treated. They will be misplaced as long as they have to remain there.

Yet on January 1, 1949, there were over half a million human beings in the camps for Displaced Persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, awaiting resettlement, and nearly 300,000 more, equally eligible for resettlement, were maintaining themselves outside the camps in the German, Austrian, or Italian economies. According to estimates made by the U.S. State Department, only about 400,000 people had been resettled between V-E Day and the end of 1948.

Why have so few been welcomed to new homes? "Because," says William Hallam Tuck, director-general of the International Refugee Organization, "we have too little of too many things—too little time, too little money, too few ships, and, most important of all, too little Christian charity among nations." And he adds: "I personally cannot believe that what is being done is all that can be done—that men, women, and children must be forced to wait in misery and suspense because the world can find no place for them except on calculated and grudging terms based on unenlightened self-interest."

Most members of Protestant Churches in the United States and most American citizens of other religious faiths would agree with Mr. Tuck. We do not believe that what

is being done is all that can be done —and we propose to do more. We know that "unenlightened self-interest" last year succeeded in adding discriminatory and almost unworkable provisions to the legislation for Displaced Persons which Congress finally enacted—and we propose to see to it that these crippling amendments are removed and the law is strengthened and widened in scope this year.

The national leadership of every Protestant denomination is now mobilizing for action on the legislative front, both separately and in co-operation with leaders from such interdenominational bodies as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Home Missions Council of North America, and the United Council of Church Women. With varying degrees of efficiency, state and local councils of churches, ministerial associations, students and faculties of Church colleges, members of young people's societies and church organizations for adults are being informed by their national and local leaders of the urgent need for registering with their representatives in Congress their own wholehearted support of such legislation for Displaced Persons as that proposed in the McGrath-Neely Bill (S. 311) and the Celler Bill (H. R. 1344). Miss Colborn's citizenship pages in previous issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS have described the changes which these bills would make in our present law and tell why these changes are so desperately needed.

Laws are not enough. The concern of the Protestant Churches for those who have been so long misplaced must be expressed also in action of another sort. Words must be backed by deeds.

Every large denomination and most of the smaller have their relief funds from which allocations are made for work with Displaced Persons, either directly, through workers employed by the denomination itself as is the case with the Lutherans, or indirectly, through workers employed by Church World Service, the agency by means of which twenty-one Protestant and Eastern Orthodox groups and denominations now pool their efforts. Although the Committee on Displaced Persons of Church World Service estimates that close to a million dollars yearly are needed for its budget, if it is to represent its affiliates at all adequately, it has not been possible thus far to depend upon receiving that amount regularly. There have been times when staff and program have been cut, thus curtailing that expansion of the work which must take place if the Protestants are to do their full share.

Church World Service also looks to local churches for help of an-

other sort. Before any Displaced Person can even start the process of resettlement, "assurances" must be given, which means that someone, somewhere, must promise employment, housing, and money for traveling expenses from the port of entry to the new home. Many Protestant Churches are now learning through actual experience that when members of a group work together, with no individual having to carry the whole responsibility for all the "assurances," the way begins to open and then it proves not too difficult to conclude arrangements.

In a large city church, for instance, the Sunday church school classes might raise the money for railroad tickets and incidental expenses en route; one of the elders might promise a job in the small factory which he owns; a real-estate dealer who is remodeling some old houses might be able to revamp his plans enough to make room for one more apartment; and the women's organizations of the church would certainly agree to furnish the new home. Responsibility thus shared has in many places —but not yet in enough places!— multiplied the resources of a church past all expectation.

Sometimes the resources of a city can be combined, through a local Committee on Displaced Persons or a city-wide council of churches. Thus in Detroit the Council of Churches is helping any church that cannot provide all the assurances needed for a given family, to combine with another church or other churches known by the Council to be in the same situation. The Council then assembles all the assurances for Church World Service.

That organization, through its overseas staff, selects a family it believes to be eligible for a visa and capable of filling the job offered, helps this family through the long process of clearance with a multitude of Governmental agencies, and sees them off. Staff members at the national headquarters in New York City handle the paper work at this end, keep the Detroit Council of Churches informed of what is taking place, and finally, if all goes well, meet the family at the dock and take them straight from the boat to the train, notifying Detroit that its resettlers are on their way and should be met on arrival.

Denominations, organized in districts throughout a state, sometimes seek contributions from an entire district for the benefit of a congregation unable financially to carry the whole expense of resettling a family. This was the arrangement by which Mr. and Mrs. T, a Latvian pastor and his wife, were brought to a village of less than one thousand people in a Middle Western state last December. When they opened the doors of the Methodist parson-

age on New Year's Eve, 1948, they found a warm, clean house, simply but attractively furnished—a kitchen filled with food, new dishes on the pantry shelves, even a little radio on the living room table. Within a month they were the proud possessors of a 1947 automobile, for Mr. T was to serve two small churches, eighteen miles apart, and his congregations were scattered over the countryside, so that a car was not a luxury but a necessity.

Most of the cost of furniture and car was met by contributions and gifts of household equipment from their two congregations and from Methodist churches in the district. But one of the nicest things that happened was that people who were not Methodists asked if they too might be allowed to help. A Roman Catholic neighbor carried in a "swivel chair, a kitchen table, and a rocker chair"; stockings, handkerchiefs, and fruit came from a Baptist; the superintendent of schools, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, is giving English lessons.

To round out the story of Mr. and Mrs. T, assurances for them and for Mrs. T's mother, who came with them, were given by a Methodist bishop, formerly assigned to the Church, under which Mr. T had worked in happier days; traveling expenses were paid by the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief and arrangements for the migration were made by that committee, working through Church World Service. So the story is really one of co-operation at every level, including that great international agency, the International Refugee Organization, which maintains the camps and paid for that trip across the Atlantic which ended the misplacement of this family forever.

Is such co-operative effort as that which brought this Latvian family to the United States beyond the power of any Protestant Church in this country to match? Or to surpass?

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## To Launch a D. P. Project in Your Church

These helpful program aids are available from

Department for Displaced Persons, Church World Service
214 East 21st Street
New York 10, New York

- Assurance forms with instruction sheet attached.
- Information booklet, *You Wanted to Know.*
- An excellent film strip, *Delayed Pilgrims.*
- A 16-mm. sound film, *Answer for Anne,* prepared by the Lutheran Council and IRO. Available for $7.50 rental from Church World Service.

To secure D. P. information, write to Dr. Charles T. Leber, The Board of Foreign Missions, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

# Delayed Pil

*Off to join her children in the U.S.A. They went ahead and made good.*

*Shelter for four or five families in a single room of a converted schoolhouse. Tin cans for coffee cups, and bleak despair—unless fellow Christians care and share!*

# e and Despair

*Life begins anew for this family of three.*

***Some may go but others must remain behind. When you are old and alone, there is no solution.***

# A PLEA FOR PRESBYTERIAN ACTION

*By* E. GRAHAM WILSON, *General Secretary of the Board of National Missions.*

At the war's end there were some 8,000,000 refugees and Displaced Persons left in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Through the efforts of the International Relief Organization of the United Nations, all but about a million of these were returned to their homelands or resettled elsewhere. But approximately 770,000 are still in the D.P. camps. Those who remain homeless (and this is, of course, exclusive of the millions of so-called expellees) are from almost every country in Europe and from every walk of life.

William H. Tuck, director-general of IRO, has described them as "men, women, and children who are normal in all ways save one—they have no homes." The Churches of America, working in close co-operation with the Displaced Persons Department of Church World Service, are endeavoring to meet this very special need for homes, by securing sponsors among individuals and organizations, who are willing to assume the responsibility of bringing these "Delayed Pilgrims" to America.

According to the present law, which permits the entrance of 205,000 Displaced Persons over a two-year period, every D.P. must have a sponsor who will give certain "assurances" as to job and housing. The law also demands that at least 30 per cent of the Displaced Persons be agricultural workers, that 40 per cent of them must come from "annexed" areas, and that a provision for mortgaging of future immigration quotas be included.

These, and many other red-tape requirements, make the present law very difficult to operate, and create a time lag of at least four months from the time "assurances" are given by the sponsor to the actual arrival of the Displaced Persons in the United States.

Denominations are co-operating in securing sponsors in several different ways. Some have teams of workers going about the country securing sponsors. Others are working directly with Church World Service in the processing of the "assurances." A few are leaving all such matters entirely in the hands of the Displaced Persons Department of CWS. Presbyterians who are interested in sponsoring a D.P., or a D.P. family, write the author at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York, for special information and assurance blanks which must be filled out and returned by the po-

tential sponsor, to the office of the Board of National Missions.

After these blanks are in the possession of our office, they are immediately cleared through Church World Service. This is true of all Protestant and Orthodox communions. Then CWS sends the assurances on to the United States Commission for Displaced Persons in Washington. If everything is in proper order the United States Commission proceeds to get the necessary clearances which will allow the requested Displaced Persons to sail on the boats provided by the International Relief Organization. The ocean transportation cost is covered, but the sponsor has to pay all inland transportation costs from port to final destination.

A sponsor is allowed to request a Displaced Persons family of a particular religious faith and is permitted to specify exactly the type of worker he would like. It should be borne in mind that 80 per cent of the Displaced Persons are Christians and that most of them are from the Baltic countries. One third of the men of working age are skilled workers (tailors, shoemakers, locksmiths, carpenters, automobile and truck mechanics). One fourth are agricultural workers. And about 13 per cent fall into professional, managerial, intellectual, and art groups.

Because these Displaced Persons are good people, who love freedom and all the benefits of the Christian way of life, we have a responsibility.

Since I am no expert in legislation I am perfectly content to accept the recommendation of the United States Commission on Displaced Persons regarding changes which should be made in the present law, in the light of the humanitarian purposes of the act (voted by the 80th Congress), and on the basis of operating experience. Changes proposed by the McGrath-Neely Bill (S. 311) and the Celler Bill (H. R. 1344) are in line with the Commission's recommendations, and I hope all Presbyterians will be willing to support these pieces of legislation when they reach the floor of the Senate and House.

One of the chief sources of satisfaction in the Christian life is to help someone who is in need. Those of us who have seen these Displaced Persons in their camps can testify that they are in desperate need. They need new homes. They need a new hope. They need friends who really care. Are we as American Church members prepared to meet human need? Are we willing to provide new homes? Do we have any hope to offer? God pity us, and the Christian Church, if we have not!

I therefore urge every reader of this article to be a committee of one to start a Displaced Persons project in his own local church or community. Somebody must take hold and follow through. I hope you will be that person!

# THE LESSON OF HISTORY

*By* **PROFESSOR HARRY R. RUDIN,** ***Director of Graduate Studies in History, Yale University.***

THERE can be no doubt of the fact that we are living in the most critical times in world history. The temperature is rising steadily in the cold war; the North Atlantic Pact suggests that we are moving beyond the melting point. It seems clear that our Government believes war with Russia to be inevitable and is not greatly concerned by the fact that the next war has in modern weapons destructive possibilities too great for the human mind to imagine.

The picture of the best-trained minds of our universities—doctors of physics, chemistry, bacteriology, and medicine—at work in their laboratories to increase man's capacity for destructiveness by enabling him to spread disease or to shower on the bodies of men the searing rays that kill or make monsters of those who survive—there isn't another page in history on which one can read anything so utterly repulsive. Here we have nihilism in its purest form.

### Civilization in Crisis

These are indeed times when the Christian conscience must speak out and cease to find comfort in the fact that the men who guide our destinies in these ominous directions are Church members and render periodic and formal service to God. All that is most precious in our civilization is at stake; the issue must be of profound spiritual concern to men who have found the greatest values in eternal perspectives. Caesar's challenge to Christ was never more evident than in the demands of the modern state. Christians must consider whether what remains at the end of another war is worth the price the state is asking us to pay for it. It is genuine idolatry for us to sacrifice everything of value to get a world devastated beyond recognition to be ruled by men rendered incapable of any concern but that to survive.

Ever since the Truman Doctrine in 1947 transformed a postwar world into a prewar world, we have been moving steadily toward an eventual military involvement with Russia. The stage has now been reached where we are seeking allies for a struggle regarded as virtually inevitable. The approval of the American people in Congress is sought for the recently negotiated North Atlantic Pact, which covers but one part of the world living in fear of Russia. Indications are many

that other areas threatened by Russia will seek similar protective pacts in which the United States will contribute most of the military and economic aid required. This future network of alliances is based on the belief that a show of power is all that is needed to exorcise the malevolence of Russia; for proof, appeal is made to the fantastic notion that determined demonstration of military power by the Western Allies on the Rhine in 1936 would have been sufficient to check Hitler and would have made the Second World War unnecessary.

## No Solution Without Control of Power

One is astounded by the current belief of men that they can free themselves of the obligation to do something positive about the economic and political problems of the world—rising tariffs, decreasing resources, growing populations, and other causes of insecurity and unrest—by a mere parade of soldiers for a period of a few months or years. Unproved assumptions like these are superstitions productive of unmeasured harm when they are made the basis of diplomatic and military policy.

The North Atlantic Pact is nothing more than an old-fashioned military alliance, a purely negative policy with nothing constructive about it. It contains not the slightest promise of progress beyond similar steps taken in the past for dealing with the critical problems that always arise from the fears engendered when two rival groupings of power exist in the world.

Instead of realizing that the uncontrolled military power of sovereign states lies at the root of most evil in international relations, and instead of meeting the world's great need for real control of that military power through either a reformed United Nations or some other international agency, the pact makes the existing problem infinitely worse by increasing the amount of that power. Yet, if war were to break out tomorrow, it can safely be asserted that plans for a new world organization to deal with the problem would be made very early in that war.

No war is needed to prove once more what wars of the past have proved many times, namely, the need of a sound and constructive plan for dealing with the age-old problem of uncontrolled national power. There is universal recognition now of the need for a strong international organization capable of restraining the most powerful nation. No matter how difficult the creation of such an organization would be at the present time, the task would be made infinitely more difficult by another destructive war. One may even venture the hope that the creation of such an organization now may avert the next war!

### The Economic Cost of Military Alliances

The economic costs required by our policy of military alliances will be enormous. The promise to arm our North Atlantic allies and whatever other allies we may eventually acquire in the Mediterranean, in the Middle East, and in the Pacific must add greatly to the costs of a defense program already of crushing proportions without considering the Marshall Plan. In a few years these annual costs will go beyond 30 billion dollars. Actually, a year ago, the Secretary for Defense sought to have that amount appropriated for the current year. The figure is of particular interest because it is the total dollar cost of the First World War for the United States! In simple economics a year of peace will soon cost what a whole war cost one generation ago. If these huge expenditures continue for the twenty-year life of the North Atlantic Pact, that period of peace will be two times as costly as the Second World War. One may well begin to wonder about the economic differences between war and peace.

### Natural Resources in Jeopardy

Some economists are saying that 30 billion dollars a year spent for defense and for allies is so small a fraction of our total annual income that the burden will scarcely be felt. They should be required, however, to answer this question: How large a portion of the world's existing resources would be needed for so great a military program?

We are beginning to get an idea of what the Second World War cost us in mineral resources even though our Government has carefully refrained from presenting the American people with an itemized bill. President Truman has several times called attention to the fact that the war made the United States a "have not" country with respect to a large number of minerals of great strategic importance.

The stock-piling measures adopted by our Government and the quest of enterprising Americans in distant lands for the steadily diminishing supply of these valuable resources illustrate better than anything else what lies behind the proposal made by the President in his inaugural address for the economic development of the backward areas of the world. Detailed plans accompanying the requests of Great Britain and France for aid in developing their colonial areas in Africa make it appear possible that our quest for critical minerals may make us partners in the worst kind of exploitation of colonial people in Africa, where the ability of the native to resist the white exploiter is far under that in Indo-China, Indonesia, and in the Middle and Far East generally.

## More Bridgeheads for the Reds

The economic consequences of the policies we are adopting for checking Communist Russia are excellent reasons for alternative measures. What we intend to do is bound to have graver economic distress than either the First World War or the Second had. It should never be forgotten that the First World War gave Communism its opportunity to establish a bridgehead in Europe and that the Second World War extended that bridgehead deeply into western Europe. The long-range results of our contemplated policies for checking Communism will be such as to produce more Communists, for Communism is nourished into strength by the economic insecurities of our time. So clearly self-defeating and suicidal are our present plans that it is not difficult to believe that Stalin and his counselors in the Politburo may be forcing America into adopting the kind of costly economic program that will enable Russia to reap the ideological harvest of a third world war without fighting it.

Our political system is likewise threatened by the course we are pursuing. Manifestations of social change are in the growing centralization of authority in Washington, the concentration of power in our Federal Government, the multiplying controls placed on education, science, and on the individual through a proposed program for conscription. Further evidence is in the controls being instituted to safeguard existing resources, the threat of the Government to produce steel, rubber, and oil to meet the threat of war. And mutiplying interferences with civil liberties as the fear mounts that even liberals may be agents of a Communist Russia suggest other impending change in the political traditions of the United States.

Tragic indeed would it be if the end result of what we are doing and propose to do should be the gradual weakening or virtual elimination of our successfully functioning democracy, which has many great advantages as an example to oppose to the kind of totalitarian government that Communist Russia represents.

The student of history does not wonder about the basic cause of present difficulties in international relations. Four centuries of European diplomatic history have underscored the truth that no prolonged peace is possible when two very powerful states are in a position to fill each other with overwhelming fears. It was this general situation that led to war in 1914 and again in 1939. It is this general situation that threatens to bring on another war. It is Russia's power rather than her ideology that produces this fear in us. A powerful Russia that

was not Communist would produce very much the same fear that is now possessing us. Eliminate the power and Communism would be the cause of as little fear as are many other widespread religious and political ideologies with which we are in divergent disagreement. And it is largely our great military power that accounts for much of Russia's fear-inspired policies at the present time.

### International Curb for Larger Powers

The world has always refused to deal with this fundamental question of power. The most recent monument to this refusal is the veto that the Big Five sought for themselves in the charter of the United Nations. While it was their determined policy to force smaller and weaker nations to submit to the rule of law, they saw to it that no law would be binding upon themselves. Policing others, they refused to police themselves. Until something is done to subject the larger powers to international controls, there can be no hope for any improvement in international relations. Bernard M. Baruch proposed in 1946 that atomic power be subjected to an international authority whose operation was not to be impeded by the exercise of an obstructive veto. I would suggest broadening the original Baruch proposal to cover all forms of military power and giving the new international authority created for this purpose the power to guarantee all participants against attack. A constructive policy like this for dealing with the problem of power would go far to help us deal with the economic and other problems perplexing us.

Only when some such limitation is placed on the appetite of Mars for the world's resources will it be possible to deal with the unsolved economic problems that produce nothing but Communists. The only kind of program that Russia really fears is a constructive peace program on our part. By daring to create the kind of agency that would eliminate the danger of war, we could deprive Russia of allies, we could make a beginning toward solving other problems. We could make a good start toward an era of lasting peace.

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### We Should Learn from History

Senator McMahon has proposed one constructive alternative to the North Atlantic Defense Pact. It is a Big Four conference. Ask your Senators and Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to exhaust this and all other possibilities of peace before making World War III perhaps "inevitable."

# THE THINGS THAT BELONG TO PEACE

*By* **PAUL NEWTON POLING**, *Secretary, the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

EIGHT flags stood behind Secretary of State Acheson the night he presented the Atlantic Pact to the nation and addressed the country in support of it. This meeting closed the second day of the State Department's rewarding three-day Conference on Foreign Policy. The program director signaled the audience to respond—we were still on the air. I joined 250 other conference members in applause, but my approval was not for the Pact. I applauded the Secretary of State who had declared at the opening of the conference: "Our purpose today is to set before you some of the most pressing problems of foreign policy and to tell you how we think about these problems. If you believe that we are not thinking soundly about them, the purpose of the meeting is for you to tell us that. . . . The State Department is the servant of the American people!"

As to the Atlantic Pact, after two full days of conferences, my questions were not satisfied and my fears had deepened. Even the secretary's address, designed to reassure us, increased my concern.

The eight flags behind the secretary dominated the evening for me. Their witness, more than any spoken word, was clear—ominous. Eight flags—not the fifty-eight that on their staffs stood in circle against the breeze at Lake Success. Of what avail to argue that the Atlantic Pact was in complete accord with the United Nations, before the silent testimony of the flags—a testimony given disturbing support by the President's cancellation the next week of his address at the laying of the cornerstone for the United Nations building in New York. Was the Atlantic Pact moving toward the wider division of the United Nations of which the General Assembly in 1948 declared: "It is our one human hope of peace. We, therefore, call upon our Government to strengthen and to utilize to the utmost the machinery of the United Nations, not seeking to control its actions by our superior power or prestige, and not by-passing its use, but rather developing its power by the responsibilities we impose upon it."

The Atlantic Pact is proposed as an antidote to fear. Western Europe is afraid—as are we and the rest of the world. To reassure the North Atlantic community and to guaran-

tee our own security, are we prepared to risk the division of the United Nations; the reduction of our own freedom by the progressive regimentation of militarization; the diversion of the best fruits of the earth, industry, and home for armaments? Peace bought at such a price is a fraud!

Our fathers knew, as should their children, that no man may promise himself security in this life. Man is God's grimmest tragedy, if for threescore years and ten he is born to be tormented by the unattainable desire to make his mortal life safe. Man is born to serve a cause—the Kingdom of God. Though he can never be secure, he may possess a greater boon—the confidence gained in the fulfillment of his duty, confidence that "for this cause came I unto this hour." Only the Christian Church with this confidence can cast out the fear that otherwise will destroy us.

Russian Communism just a year ago was gravely dangerous as an evil tide with apparently no fixed bounds. It appeared again as poisonous springs rising in the nations of Europe to threaten their lives as in Italy and France. It was more dangerous than Hitler's Panzer divisions. Military aid was wisely rejected (with great firmness by the churches) a year ago when Europe was weaker and tension greater. The year has proved the wisdom of refusing to attempt to gain security in Europe through militarization then. There is even less excuse for it now. Secretary Acheson reported to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate on February 9, 1949: "There has been no advance in totalitarianism on the Continent of Europe. . . . The free community has not only held its own, but has, during this period, made great strides forward." President Truman bore the same testimony. The premise that Europe's productiveness can be secured only by the provision of overwhelming military power is belied by the facts in the Administration's report. Europe is now producing. ERP is winning the battle for peace without arms.

The danger we face is from penetration and subversion by Communism not military aggression. The revival of Europe under ERP reveals clearly the right policy in handling this threat. We need to extend these measures and not now beat into swords the plowshares that are winning the peace. The American democracy is in even greater danger today than a year ago—danger intensified by the fact that the people are not alert to the nature of it. This peril is that our own defense measures will precipitate the war we fear or that our free economy and political system—our democracy—will be crushed beneath the intolerable burden of armaments before the firing of a single shot in self-defense.

We are informed the Atlantic Pact will put Stalin on notice that he will have us to deal with if there is a military attack on the Western nations. Is it seriously believed that Stalin has any question on this point? Mr. Lippmann wrote January 3, 1949, "What has restrained Russia is not local capacity for resistance but the certainty that the total power of the United States would be involved." Thus he explains the fact that Stalin has not attacked western Europe. But we have neglected to "put on notice" those who will not be overlooked in case of attack. The people of Russia and America; the youth of the world; the young men and women in your home and mine—all should be put on notice that they will be the destroyers and destroyed as we make atomic furnaces of our cities, and our fruitful fields become the breeding ground for death as the battlefields of biological warfare.

The Pact sets up a council which shall "set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defense committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles III and V." This can hardly mean anything else than that the Pact will give an enormous impulse to the already dizzy armaments race in this nation and in the nations of the world. We can expect that one and one half billion dollars (no small amount in itself) discussed as the cost to America for the first year of arms for Europe, will be but a start in the armament for the defense of the Atlantic community. This, in addition to our present national defense budget of $14,218,000. The rearmament program means the denial of critically needed supplies to millions on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Even to "rich" America it means reduced health and social services, the denial of homes and schools to the deserving and needy. It is impressive that the $1½ billion budget for lend-lease arms to Europe is discussed as "chicken feed." It is only in the consideration of military items in our national budget that a billion and a half dollars is so referred to. In housing, health, and education it is popular to consider a lesser figure an "unreasonable amount."

### Rearmament or Recovery

The development of the undeveloped regions—the program envisioned in the fourth point of Mr. Truman's inaugural address—carries the promise of enormous benefits for the backward people of the world. If this program fulfills its promise, it must be surrounded by sufficient safeguards lest it become the heartless old scheme of imperialism—exploiting the people and resources of primitive lands to strengthen the economic and military might of ruling powers. To assure the world and "keep our-

selves from falling," we should study the necessity of placing the Point 4 program entirely under the control of the United Nations. Because of the considerable hazards to world confidence, the wisdom of pressing new projects that cannot be undertaken through the United Nations is subject to question.

Our fear stimulated by an unreasonable trust in "overwhelming force" will increasingly make the chief end of all industry and travail the preparation for war. Thus, news of the invention of a new engine appears in the paper with the notice that it will "extend a bomber's range by a thousand miles." Scientists exploring backward regions may be too greatly concerned for the discovery of critical minerals and fuel resources to satisfy the insatiable power appetite of Mars. The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1948 again spoke in prophetic warning:

"We believe the most ominous present threat to freedom and the peace of the world lies in the militarization of the nations. The United States, as the leading world power, should take bold steps to reverse such a trend. To date our national tendency has been to fall in with and to accentuate rather than to retard this trend."

### An Agenda for the Early Settlement of the Cold War

The Conference on Foreign Policy gave opportunity to ask State Department members to set forth an "agenda for peace." Conference leaders were asked what would be the conditions for an over-all settlement with Russia. In the absence of a State Department program for an over-all settlement the following was suggested as "a tentative agenda" for an early peace settlement of the cold war. Doubtless there are additional measures that should be included in a "peace offensive" to implement the good by which evil must be overcome.

1. Settlement of the Berlin crisis as outlined by Trygve Lie, whereby Russians agree to give up the blockade of Berlin and we give up our insistence on our monetary standard.

2. The Ruhr Valley to be internationalized.

3. Russia to get out of Austria, and America and Russia to disengage themselves from Greece, allowing her to revert to the Western zone.

4. Russia and the United States to remove troops from Korea.

5. America to pull out of China, permitting the civil war to be settled by agreement between opposing forces.

6. America to pull out of Iceland and some of the Pacific bases which are too close to Russia, remaining in other bases not too near.

7. After progress on these basic issues is made, Russia and the United States should get together

to see what is necessary to reach an agreement on atomic energy, including inspection methods and the control of conventional armaments.

8. The resumption of trade relations between the East and the West, the United States and Russia.

9. The freedom of the movement of people between the nations of the East and the West.

10. Exchange of cultural and educational envoys between the two countries to be encouraged.

11. The negotiation of a loan with Russia, not as an appeasement measure, but to aid in the restoration of the great devastation wrought in Russia during the last war.

12. The discontinuance of plans for regional military alliances dividing the United Nations—the proposal of a security protocol which would restrain aggression, not only in the North Atlantic but in the South Pacific, assuring both the Dutch against the aggression in Europe and Indonesia against the aggression of the Dutch in Pacific Asia.

There is no wisdom or security in yielding to the fears of Europe. French fears committed her for "security" to the twin follies of militarism—conscription and the Maginot Line—for her defense in the Second World War. The likelihood is that if we now act on the same motives, we too will come to like disaster. Nor should our policy be finally determined by Russian resistance or approval.

We are not released from our responsibility to do good because of the evil action of our enemy. We are bound to do the will of God for duty's sake, but also because it is our faith that righteousness, mercy, love, sacrifice, justice are the mightiest weapons in the armory of God. Why should he turn to weaker instruments when the struggle becomes desperate?

The issues before us are matters of faith and unbelief. The responsibility for the formulation of foreign policy, as well as its consequences, belongs to the people. The responsibility cannot be transferred to the "experts." We declare it imperative that our policy of "realism" in foreign affairs makes it possible for a man to make his life and death the fulfillment of the Christian faith. For "whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

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**EDITORIAL NOTE:** Perhaps a personal word will be allowed by those who care for the truth and believe it important in even minor matters. Rumor has it that the Editor is a pacifist. Without desire to disassociate oneself from a company of most thoughtful and consecrated friends, the fact is the writer is neither a pacifist nor the father of a pacifist—a son served during World War II in the Navy and at the conclusion of the war returned from the Pacific. Two sons are now of military service age. This explanation is offered to help "keep the record straight."—*Paul Newton Poling.*

# An Appeal to Faith

## A CALL TO ACTION

*The Practical plans for action given on these pages are prepared by Margaret E. Kuhn, Assistant Editor of* Social Progress. *The Editor's contribution this month is found in the article "The Things That Belong to Peace."—Paul Neuton Poling.*

THE goal of "peace through understanding" of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is an equally pertinent objective for our Church today. With the present inclination of so many Americans to take their political opinions from the syndicated columnists and subscribe, without exercising a mental muscle, to the "packaged thinking" of the radio commentators and digest magazines, the role of the Church as an educational force is more important than ever.

The study suggestions outlined here may be applied to any social issue that may confront the Church.

**I. What we can do individually to equip ourselves to be Christian citizens of "One World."**

- We can look into our own attitudes and actions. If these were universally held and practiced, would they bring about peace, economic justice, brotherhood, or would they menace the world's welfare?
- We can think, read, and investigate all sides of a problem. We can be really informed, by supplementing our newspaper and radio information with our Church papers and materials from the Federal Council and the World Council of Churches. We can share books, newspaper clippings, and marked magazine articles with friends.
- And on the basis of our thinking we can talk—with our families, friends, neighbors. "The buzz technique," as Professor Howard Y. McClusky describes it, never fails to stimulate further thinking and talking. After having tested our ideas on our friends, we can explore the same matter with people who may be able to do something about it. If we talk at the right time, with the right people, and bring up the right points, we can produce further change!
- We can also begin to ask questions in meetings, in conversations, in interviews with people in public life.
- We can write letters to our Government representatives, to the editors of our newspapers, to radio stations commenting on programs.
- We can take active part as citizens—voting in primaries and elections, joining political organizations. Important decisions affecting the lives of millions are often made in circles where Churchmen are conspicuously absent.
- And we can pray—for Government leaders, for persons in public life, for those who suffer.

**II. What we can do in groups.**

As Church members we have many ways of sharing thoughts and ideas. People are most likely to want to study and take action only if they feel a personal interest and concern. It is often easiest for them to become aroused and stimulated by taking part in a small group. The group approach is important when our modern democratic society is organized in groups, and individuals are more effective when we join others in group activity. The churches have a responsibility for demonstrating the meaning of fellowship, and the democratic principle of reaching decisions not by the command of a dictator, but by free open debate of all persons affected by the decision. Then, too, individuals taking courageous action need the support and understanding of associates.

Leaders of the various organizations within the church—Women's Association, Westminster Fellowship, couples clubs, Sunday church school –should be alert to new, creative forms of activity that will provide greater participation and "personal envolvement" of the members of groups.

These educational forms briefly presented here can be used effectively in large or small groups—in big city churches as well as country parishes:

- Panel discussions in which panel members converse about an issue, air all views, and then enlarge the panel to include the audience.
- Forums, town meetings, or symposiums in which several people make brief presentations on a subject, followed by a question-answer period.
- Socio-drama which explores a controversial subject in a series of impromptu scenes planned, enacted, and evaluated by members of the audience.
- Carefully selected movies that dramatize great issues, or transmit important information; to be followed by group discussion.
- Church-night gatherings which may combine panel discussions, and movies, socio-drama, and group discussion and singing.

In developing new and vital contacts between church and community, church leaders should:

- Encourage P.T.A., civic clubs, local unions to plan programs dealing with social issues; serve as speakers at luncheon clubs and town meetings.
- Co-operate with public schools through exhibits in school library, movies at assembly, essay-writing projects to be judged by church leaders.
- Cultivate the interest of local radio stations in sponsoring radio forums.
- Enlist the interest and support of neighboring colleges, faculty, and students.

**Social education and action within the Church also depends upon creative, resourceful leadership. If the Church takes seriously its mission for a peaceful, co-operative world, it must undertake an aggressive program of leadership training; and the new lay and professional leaders must be dedicated to the creative release of the powers and capabilities of others, with the concept of the leader as guide, stimulator, trainer—never the dictator or autocrat. Such leadership training means frequent workshops, short-term conferences, and constant efforts to discover and train new leadership. This strategy for the Church is based on the inescapable assumption that local, state, national, and international affairs are our business. As liberal voices are stilled, the Christian conscience must speak out against all elements in society that violate human dignities and the rights of men as the children of God. In a democracy one cannot delegate citizenship, least of all can a Christian, who is committed by strong bonds of kinship to a world brotherhood.**

# Sanctuary

## Religion and Economic Life

**Call to Worship.**

**Hymn:** "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross."

**Meditation on the Cross:**

Do I think of bearing my cross merely in terms of patient endurance of the suffering and sorrows that may come to me in the course of my life? Does not this fall short of understanding one of the deepest meanings of the cross? Was not the cross of Christ a voluntary assumption of the sufferings of others, an identification of his very life with the interests and well-being of those less privileged than himself? Though existing on an equality with God, he counted not privilege and power things to be grasped, but took upon himself the form of man, suffering with humanity even unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Do I measure my personal religion by this test?

Am I content with the condition of the world in proportion to my own good fortune, the happiness of my family, and the welfare of the economic class to which I happen to belong?

Or have I voluntarily identified my interests with those of people less privileged than I: with the poor, with the unemployed, with those who live in crowded quarters, with child laborers, with workers in the factory and on the farm, with women who toil, with groups of other color or race than my own, with underprivileged peoples throughout the world?

Let me pause and think of the lot of each of these. As I meditate now before the cross of Christ, I do resolve to learn, by personal contact and study, more than I now know, what life is like for the least of these his brethren. In humility, I ask myself, Am I as truly distressed over their situation as though it were my own? Am I bearing the cross? Do I have in me that mind which was in Christ Jesus?

**Prayer for a Christian Social Order:**

Almighty God, ceaseless Creator of the ever changing worlds, energy divine, Spirit of life, who art clothed in mystery, yet manifest in the cosmic urge moving in all nature toward more perfect forms; we thank thee for thy continued presence in the mind and heart of man, making him ever discontent with things as they are, urging him forever onward and upward on his way.

We thank thee, O God, for exalted visions of the eternal destiny of man, and for all the dreams of a divine society on earth, foretold by seers throughout the centuries, and proclaimed by Jesus in the glad tidings of the Kingdom of God.

Help us in the spirit of our Lord's Prayer to build the kind of world that will tend to make men good. Lead us not into temptation. Deliver us from the evils of war, and of any economic or political system which places profit or power above personality. Lead us into that co-operative commonwealth in which all the families of the earth shall be blessed.

Grant to us the blessing of orderly processes in social change. Restrain from the method of violence both those who press forward toward new rights for the dispossessed, and those who would protect for themselves the vested interests of our time. Through the compulsion of love, by the power of the cross, may thy Kingdom come, thy will be done.

As we press toward thy Kingdom, grant us the boldness of the early Christians of whom it was said that they turned the world upside down. Keep us from hurt surprise at enmity and opposition in Church and State, remembering that a disciple is not above his Lord and that so persecuted they the prophets.

Gladden now our eyes, we beseech thee, O God, with a nearer vision of that perfect day when none shall hurt nor destroy in all thy holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. In the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

**Scripture Lesson:** I John, ch. 4.

**Meditation on Christian Love in Social Legislation:**

"He that loveth not, knoweth not God." Love never changes. But the forms of its expression often change so radically that we are in danger of failing to recognize them. In modern society, for instance, there are many economic, social, racial, and international relations which, in addition to other remedies, demand legislation in order to prevent suffering, provide opportunities for human freedom, and promote peace. If therefore we really love those who are in need, our love must often find expression by urging legislatures to act for or against specific bills. This may seem a strange substitute for the personal kindness of the good Samaritan. But true love will find its insistent way even though it must bear the postmark of a communication to one's representative in local, national, or world government.

**The Church and Economic Systems:**

Until God's Kingdom shall indeed come on earth, the Church should never completely or uncritically identify itself with or become subservient to any political or economic system. Our present economic system, like all others, must be judged by its fruits. We must constantly ask ourselves what political and economic relations can provide the circumstances most conducive to the development of human personality, self-support, self-respect, freedom subject to the common good, and creative intelligence. Is a particular economic and political system—whichever it may be—founded on the Christian motive of service to human need rather than on the profit of any individual, class, or nation? Does it tend to perpetuate or to abolish social scourges such as unemployment, involuntary poverty, and international war? These and other moral questions need to be raised in judging any economic system or proposals. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

**The Lord's Prayer** (*to be repeated in unison*).

**Hymn:** "America the Beautiful."

**Benediction.**

*—James Myers, Emeritus Executive Secretary, Department of the Church and Economic Life, the Federal Council of Churches.*

## WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE—GUNS OR BUTTER?

### New Domestic and International Bills

**Health Bill, S. 5.** Compulsory health insurance, grants to states for health services, construction of health and hospital facilities. Appropriation, $175,000,000. In Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

**FEPC Bill, S. 174.** National act against discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry. Cost not indicated. In Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

**Federal Aid to Education, S. 246.** Aid to states for public elementary and secondary schools. Cost, $300,000,000 annually. Awaiting Senate action.

**Relief for Palestine Refugees, S.J. Res. 36.** (Now Public Law.) Appropriation, $16,000,000.

**To Amend Fair Labor Standards Act, H.R. 3190.** (S. 653, similar bill.) Raise minimum wage to 75c an hour, and increase coverage, change certain child-labor provisions. No money needed. Awaiting House action.

**Repeal Taft-Hartley Act, S. 249.** Sets up a new law governing labor. No money involved.* Awaiting Senate action.

**Housing Bill, S. 1070.** Federal aid to assist in slum clearance and low-rent public housing, farm housing. Provides for $1.75 billion in loans for 5 years. $85,000,000 grant first year. Awaiting Senate action.

**To amend ECA Act, S. 1209.** (H.R. 3226, similar bill.) Provision of Marshall Plan funds for coming year. Appropriation, $5,580,000,000. Passed House and Senate.

**School Health Bill, S. 4111.** Provides for facilities and medical services for school children. Appropriation, $35,000,000. Awaiting Senate action.

**Statehood for Hawaii, H.R. 49.** Reported by committee. Appropriation, $200,000. Awaiting House action.

**Judd Immigration Bill, H.R. 199.** Relating to immigration and naturalization for persons of Asia and the Pacific not now covered. Passed House. No money involved.* Awaiting Senate action.

**Statehood for Alaska, H.R. 331.** Reported by committee. Appropriation, $100,000. Awaiting action in House.

**Trade Agreements Extension Act, H.R. 1211.** Passed House and Senate.*

**Amend Displaced Persons Act, H.R. 1344.** (Also S. 311, similar bill.) See March Social Progress. Reported by committee; awaiting House action.*

**Social Security, H.R. 2892, H.R. 2893.** To increase benefits and coverage through insurance. Cost, $250,000,000 (expansion of present $1,000,000,000 program).

***Total yearly cost, $6,441,300,000.***

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* *Bill carries no appropriation of money or authorization for grants.*

## New Defense Measures

**UMT Bill, S. 66.** When representatives of American Legion appeared before Senate Armed Services Committee, 3/3/49, urging action on this bill, they were told by committee that no immediate action was contemplated. Appropriated, $800,000,000.

**Cryptographic Security Bill, S. 277.** Reported out by Senate Armed Services Committee, 3/10/49. No money involved.*

**Army Construction Bill, S. 960.** Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on 3/11/49 postponed indefinitely hearings on this bill. No money involved in actual bill, but possible over-all cost about $522,000,000.

**Construction of Transsonic and Wind Tunnel Facilities and Air Engineering Development Center, S. 1267.** Referred to Senate Armed Services Committee. Cost, $311,000,000.

**Construction of Air Academy, S. 1990.** Referred to Senate Armed Services Committee to train air cadets. Cost, $25,000,000.

**14% Increase in Military Pay Scale, H.R. 2553.** Hearings completed in House Armed Services Committee. Estimated cost, $400,000,000.

**Air Force Act of 1949 (70-group), H.R. 1437.** Scheduled for consideration by the Senate. According to Secretary Symington, cost of maintaining 70-group force, $7.5 billion annually. Passed House, 3/9/49.

**Bill to authorize establishment of long-range proving ground for guided missiles, H.R. 1741.** Initial appropriation, $75,000,000. Passed House, 3/9/49.

**Undersecretary of Defense Bill, H.R. 2216.** Provides for Undersecretary of Defense. Passed House. Reported out by Senate Armed Services Committee, 3/10/49.

**Radar Defense Bill, H.R. 2546.** Passed House 3/9/49. $111,500,000.

**Central Intelligence Agency Bill, H.R. 2263.** Reported out by Senate Armed Services Committee, 3/10/49. No money involved.* Passed House.

**Rankin Veterans Pension Bill, H.R. 2681.** Approved by House Veterans Affairs Committee, but defeated by vote in House. Another bill now in hands of Committee.

**New Rankin Veterans Pension Bill, H.R. 3821.** Provides $72 monthly to veterans of World War I. Estimated cost in 1950, $44,324,000; in 15 years, $1,109,134,000.

***Total yearly cost, $9,723,324,000*** (excluding rising estimates for veterans' pensions).

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## *Citizenship Note*

*The defeat suffered by the Administration on cloture and civil rights is not to be taken lightly by those interested in legislation aimed toward the preservation of human rights and welfare. Every piece of domestic and international legislation will have difficulty passing this session, and much of it will not get through at all! All such legislation is, in full or in part, in line with action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Undoubtedly the housing bill (S. 1070), though fully in line with Church action, will be amended to death. The propaganda machine against this bill is already at work. Again the Celler D. P. bill (H.R. 1344) is in line with Church action, but at present there is fear that it will be seriously crippled in the House, little hope that it can be passed in the Senate at all. The Judd bill (H.R. 199) to admit*

*Asiatic and Pacific peoples to citizenship, although passed the House, may not be reported to the Senate for any action this session.*

*The statehood bills will move only if friends of statehood push. This to a very great extent, means Church people.*

*Social Security is less costly than veterans' pensions and gives greater benefits to more people. This bill is in line with action taken by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., at several different General Assemblies. The Roman Catholic Church has testified against it.*

*The North Atlantic Defense Pact is not listed because it will come before the Senate as a treaty after it is signed early in April. Letters expressing your opinion on the Pact should be addressed to your Senators.*

*It should be noted that the amount of money involved in items on the domestic and international list is small, except for ECA funds, particularly when compared to the costly defense items. —Fern M. Colborn.*

## CITIZENSHIP

### Fair Labor Standards

The Church recognizes the rights of workers to steady employment, to fair wages, to good working conditions, to security in sickness and old age, and to the protection of collective bargaining.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. on several occasions has declared its advocacy of these rights and of measures for attaining them. In 1945, for example, the Assembly affirmed "its conviction that the Christian affirmation of the worth of human personality, the Christian concern for family life, and the Christian basis for social well-being make of paramount importance a wage or salary to all who work that will assure a standard of living commensurate with the minimum basic needs of the individual and his family, and a purchasing power that will assure consumption by the worker of the goods and services which he has shared in providing."

Proposed changes in Federal laws relating to wages and working conditions for employees (S. 653; H.R. 3190) should be of interest to social education and action leaders in all churches.

The present law, enacted in 1938, needs correction along several lines.

1. The hourly wage rate of 40 cents prescribed as minimum has long been outmoded as a fair measure of the amount required for a minimum standard of living for American workers. As the President said in his state of the union message to Congress in January, "The health of our economy and its maintenance at high levels further require that the minimum wage fixed by law should be raised to at least 75 cents an hour."

Of the 22.6 million workers now covered by the 1938 law, about 1.5 million receive less than the proposed 75 cents an hour minimum. The industries most affected are lumber and timber, tobacco manufacturing, leather and leather products, apparel and other finished textile products. The vast majority of workers in these trades now receive more than 60 cents an hour. A 75-cent minimum rate will mean a direct increase of less than 1 per cent in the total payroll for employees now subject to the act.

2. The present law covers employees who are actually engaged in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for interstate commerce. Some employers have differentiated unfairly between workers clearly covered by the act and workers not covered, thus gaining an advantage over competitors who dealt fairly and equally with all of their employees.

The proposed law extends coverage to *all* persons employed "in or about or in

connection with" an enterprise where the employer is "engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce." This clarification will eliminate a great deal of misunderstanding and dissatisfaction which have resulted from the operation of the present law based as it is on the activities of the employees instead of the employers.

3. The child-labor provisions of the present act need to be strengthened and brought into line with the wage and hours provision.

The child-labor sections apply now only to those enterprises which produce goods for interstate commerce. A variety of interstate industries which do not produce goods (railroad and steamship lines, Western Union, etc.) are now exempt. The proposed changes extend the law's coverage so that this loophole is closed.

The present law prohibits "shipment of goods in interstate commerce by establishments which have employed children within thirty days prior to shipment." Canneries, logging concerns, and other industries often hold their products longer than thirty days, so the child-labor provisions of the law do not apply to them. The new act will close the "thirty-day loophole" by making the provisions apply to all interstate commerce industries regardless of when children are employed in their operations.

The proposed changes also extend the child-labor restrictions to large-scale farms during school hours. The present law at this point is confusing and difficult to administer. In neither the present law nor in the proposed revisions do the child-labor prohibitions apply to children working on their parents' farms.

4. The present bill provides a complicated and confusing system of exemptions that are revised and simplified in the proposed amendments.

The wage and hours provisions of the bill are extended to retail and service establishments having a total annual volume of sales in excess of $500,000. This will bring under the law's coverage large department stores, chain stores, hotels, and automobile service stations. It is estimated that 900,000 workers not covered at present will come under the proposed law.

Among the major exemptions in both the present law and the new amendments are telephone exchanges with fewer than 500 stations, retail and service establishments with an annual volume of less than $500,000 per year, all agricultural activities and certain types of fish processing.

5. The new amendments invest the Secretary of Labor with authority to administer the act in all its provisions. This has not been altogether the case in the present law's administration where authority has been divided and uncertain.

6. The proposed amendments seek to establish special industry committees for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands for the purpose of establishing reasonable minimum wage rates and labor standards for industries in those areas.

—*Clifford Earle.*

## The Churches and Human Rights

This is the title of a 5-cent bulletin published by the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, which contains three of the most significant statements to be issued in our generation and deserves wide circulation. It includes the important statement on human rights adopted by the Federal Council at its last bienniel meeeting, the declaration on religious liberty adopted by the World Council, and the universal declaration of human rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

For reading and group study.

# INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS INSTITUTE FOR CHURCH LEADERS

The seventh Annual Institute on Industrial Relations for ministers and other Church leaders will be held at the University of Wisconsin (Madison, Wisconsin) on July 10–23, 1949. The Institute is sponsored by the University of Wisconsin School for Workers with the co-operation of Church organizations and the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

The Institute will be held concurrently with the General Institute, which will bring trade-unionists from a large number of unions in both the A. F. of L. and CIO to the school. The Business Representatives Institute, made up of local business agents, officers, international representatives, will also be in session during the two-week period. Joint courses with both groups will be offered to students in the Industrial Relations Institute.

## Courses of Study and Faculty

Heading the faculty will be Francis W. McPeek, Secretary of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Council for Social Action, and Professor Selig Perlman, of the University of Wisconsin. Other faculty members will be drawn from the regular faculty of the University of Wisconsin School for Workers.

The following is the tentative program of studies:

**In the Industrial Relations Institute:**

***1. The American Labor Movement in the American Community and in the World.*** The role of the labor movement, particularly in the past fifteen years in the realignment of social forces in America. Professor Perlman.

***2. Labor, Church, and Community Workshop.*** Church leaders and union members will deal with the practical problems that confront both church and labor in the community; what special contributions can be made by both groups, and by them in the community. Francis W. McPeek.

**In the General Institute** (jointly with the trade-unionists):

***3. Prepaid Medical Care and Hospitalization Plans.*** A discussion of various kinds of voluntary health plans, Governmental socialized medicine, co-operative health plans, their philosophy, plan, and operation. Gwen Goodrich Rappaport.

***4. Collective Bargaining.*** The basic concepts of collective bargaining, techniques, information, and background. Teacher to be announced.

***5. Economic and Historic Background of the Labor Movement.*** Tracing the growth of the American Labor Movement as it grew out of and with the development of the American private enterprise system. Teacher to be announced.

**In the Business Representatives Institute** (jointly with the business representatives):

***6. The Economics of Collective Bargaining.*** The economic background necessary, the data, information, need for intelligent labor-management relations. Teacher to be announced.

***7. Current Labor-Management Relations.*** The present statutes of union-management relations from the economic, political, and Governmental standpoint. Teacher to be announced.

***8. 1949 Labor Legislation.*** An analysis of the new labor laws enacted by the 81st Congress, and their probable impact on labor-management relations in the future. Teacher to be announced.

Students will be housed in the regular summer school dormitory, Villa Maria, 615 Howard Place. Students in all three institutes will share quarters, eating facilities, and recreational activities, as well as classwork. Campus churches of all denominations will co-operate with Church leaders in arranging for devotions.

The cost per student will be $70, covering board (except Sunday meals), room, tuition, and other fees, for the two-week enrollment.

Enrollment is open to Church leadership, without regard to race, creed, or color; this includes laymen as well as clergy.

Classes will begin at 7:45 A.M., July 11; students should be registered in time for the opening meeting of the institute, on Sunday evening, July 10, at 7:00 P.M. The closing session will be held early Friday afternoon, July 24, to enable students to get away on Friday if necessary.

## WORKERS' LIVING STANDARDS

A recent survey of how high prices, combined with a wage lag, have affected the living standard for American workers is reported in *Labor's Monthly Survey*, February, 1949.

Since the end of the war, 77 per cent of the workers have been obliged to drop "at least one important necessity. More than half have had to get along with less food and clothing. Seven out of eight report that shoes and other articles wore out faster, increasing their troubles.

"Half have gone into debt since October, 1947, while 86 per cent have drawn upon their savings. Five out of six have cashed war bonds. Reserves were used to buy furniture by 42 per cent of the workers, while twenty-one per cent drew upon their savings for medical care."

The survey concludes: "These figures tell a vivid story of the postwar period. They also show why the market for consumer goods is lagging."

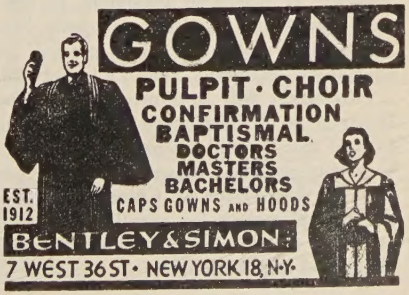
The workers studied in the survey received wage increases totaling 38½ cents per hour from the war's end in 1945 to March, 1948, which is 5 cents an hour, or $2 a week, more than the average for factory workers.

The typical union worker received, in July, 1948, $1.43½ per hour for a 40-hour week, or 10½ cents more than the average factory worker (union and nonunion workers). The comparable weekly wages were $57.40 for the union worker and $53.20 for factory workers in general.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Photographs on pages 24 and 25 courtesy of Church World Service, Inc.

Prayers and meditations appearing in the "Sanctuary" section are from the pamphlets *Prayers Personal and Social*, and *Meditations Personal and Social*, published by the Commission on Worship, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.



# WORKSHOP

## Family Conference in Baltimore

An all-day conference on "Today's Family" was held in the Brown Memorial Church, Baltimore, on February 2, 1949. Dr. T. Guthrie Speers is minister of the historic church.

The conference was sponsored by the Women's Association of the church, arrangements being made by the Committee on Social Education and Action. Mrs. William H. Lemmel was chairman of the planning group. Mrs. Ralph T. Thomas, co-president of the association, presided.

Attending were 140 persons, including visitors from 26 other churches. More than 50 persons worked on committees and participated in preliminary discussions. Agencies furnishing helpful guidance for the project included the Child Study Association, Y.W.C.A., Council of Churches of Maryland and Delaware, Baltimore Housing Authority, Baltimore Public Schools, Enoch Pratt Library, the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, and the Congregational-Christian Mission Council.

**Conference Program**

11:00 A.M. Theme for the day: "God in Our Homes," Guthrie Speers, minister.
11:20 A.M. Worship Service.
11:30 A.M. Film Strip: *Is Your Home Fun?*
12:00 Discussion Group: "At Home with the Family."
12:30 P.M. Luncheon: Young Women's Association, hostesses.
Speaker, Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher:
"Planned Parenthood as It Affects the Security of the Family."
1:30 P.M. Discussion Group: "The Family All Around the Town."
2:10 P.M. Young People's Panel Discussion: "Youth Looks at Today's Family."
2:30 P.M. Discussion Group: "The World and the Family."
3:00 P.M. Closing and Benediction.

## Summer School for Ministers on the Church and Economic Life

The University of Chicago is offering this summer an opportunity for ministers to study, under expert leadership, the application of Christian principles to concrete issues and needs in economic life. The Summer School for Ministers will be held at the university June 27 to July 28.

Enrollment will be limited to 40. The Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of Churches is serving as liaison between the Churches and the University of Chicago. Presbyterian applications for enrollment should be made through the Division of Social Education and Action.

The courses of study include: "Fundamental Economics for Pastors," taught by Professor Gale Johnson; "Religious Foundations for Economic Life," taught by Professor Luther Adams; and "Dynamics of Community Living," a seminar led by Professor Kermit Eby and Dr. Frederick Harbison. The dean of the school will be Professor Victor Obenhaus.

Expenses for the five weeks of the school amount to only $72.50 per student. This amount covers room and board (except for week ends), and registration fee. Tuition charges are met from funds provided by the university.

**The Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, held in Oakland, California, March 14–18, 1949, submits the following recommendations:**

**I. That sessions take the initiative in forming Social Education and Action Committees (SEA) in local churches.**

It should be among the responsibilities of each such committee to effect, during the Church year, a number of popular meetings in the interest of social education and action. Included in the work of these meetings should be the study of the pronouncements of General Assembly in this field, the use of visual aids, the use of resource leaders and publications.

**II. That the evidences of racial segregation and discrimination in some of our Church-related schools are to be deplored. We believe that in Christian schools the administration will do all in its power to discourage unchristian practices in regard to minority groups.**

In cases where segregation is forced upon the college by law or by private charter, steps consistent with Christian practices must be taken toward changing the law or charter in accordance with pronouncements of General Assembly.

**III. That the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., should insist that the name "Presbyterian" not be used in titles of hospitals, or other institutions, formerly affiliated with our denomination, whose standards are inconsistent with those of our Church in the area of interracial and intercultural relations.**

**IV. That attention be directed to the fact that Christians who accept, without protest, accommodations in hotels, restaurants, and public conveyances where discrimination is practiced perpetuate this evil.**

**V. That since some funeral directors and cemetery associations reserve service and burial to members of certain ethnic groups (thus refusing to serve minority groups), ministers, through their ministerial associations, should make clear the standards of the Christian Church pertaining to discrimination, and pressure should be brought to bear to correct this situation.**

**VI. That since any church that restricts its membership on the basis of race or color is not truly a church of Jesus Christ, we deem it to be of the utmost importance that Presbyterian churches move rapidly toward the fulfillment of the Christian ideal of a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated community.**

Implementing our social action, we counsel prayerful patience in the understanding and integration of all people, which, because of the magnitude of the task, will of necessity be slow. Since our trust is in God, and not in man, we are assured of ultimate victory.

# National Family Week, May 1-8, 1949

May marks the annual observance of National Family Week by members of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. Five great objectives have been chosen for this united program.

•Recognition of the home as the major source for the development of personality.

•Inspiration of families to achieve a creative home life.

•Promotion of education for marriage and for parenthood.

•Reinforcement of the program of the Church for vital home religion.

•Fellowship of all peoples as members of one family of God.